

## Message Text

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42-73 S  
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W  
----- 009746

O 061806Z MAR 74  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7329  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION OECD PARIS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 5668

EXDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGC ENRG, EEC, FR  
SUBJECT: EC-ARAB RELATIONS AND ENERGY COORDINATING COMMITTEE:  
ASSESSMENT OF FRENCH OBJECTIVES

REF: A) STATE 43739 (NOTAL); B) PARIS 5557

1. SUMMARY: GOF IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE ITS  
OBJECTIVES IN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND MIDDLE EAST.  
FRENCH BELIEVE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE WEC JUSTIFY THEIR  
POSITION. MINDFUL OF THEIR EUROPEAN PARTNERS'  
COMMUNITY "GUILT FEELINGS", AS WELL AS THE EIGHT'S STRONG  
DESIRE TO KEEP ATLANTIC TIES INTACT, FRANCE WILL  
PROD EC TOWARDS COOPERATION WITH ARABS WHILE  
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ATTEMPTING TO ASSUAGE FEARS THAT SUCH COURSE WILL  
CONFLICT WITH US OBJECTIVES. THUS, FRENCH LIKELY  
TO COOPERATE SOMEWHAT WITHIN OECD WHILE NOT  
HINDERING WIDER CONSULTATIONS BY EC PARTNERS

THROUGH ECG. AT SAME TIME, GOF WILL SEEK TO  
ENHANCE IMAGE WITH OIL PRODUCERS AND THIRD WORLD  
THROUGH CONSPICUOUS BOYCOTT OF ECG AND CHAMPIONSHIP  
OF LDC'S IN UNGA. RECOMMENDATION IN PARA. 10.  
END SUMMARY.

2. INTRODUCTION: AS A RESULT OUR CONVERSATIONS  
WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS AND INFORMED PRESS OBSERVES  
DURING PAST TWO WEEKS, WE HAVE CLEAR IMPRESSION OF  
FRENCH GOVERNMENT RESOLVE TO PURSUE ITS POLICY  
OBJECTIVES IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST WITH ALL  
DELIBERATE SPEED. UNDETERRED -- PERHAPS EVEN  
ENCOURAGES -- BY THEIR EXPERIENCE AT THE WASHINGTON  
ENERGY CONFERENCE (WEC), FRENCH HAVE LOST NO TIME  
IN SEEKING TO REPAIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR  
EUROPEAN PARTNERS, AND IN PURSUING A GOAL OF EC-ARAB  
COOPERATION.

3. FRENCH PERCEPTIONS OF WEC AND AFTERMATH: FRENCH  
ANALYSIS OF PURPOSE AND EFFECT OF WEC VARIES, DEPENDING  
ON INDIVIDUALS' PERSPECTIVE. FEW HERE ACCEPT OUR  
ASSERTIONS THAT WEC WAS DESIGNED TO DEAL PRIMARILY  
WITH ENERGY-RELATED, NOT POLITICAL ISSUES. SOME,  
INCLUDING JOBERT, BELIEVE WEC WAS FOR  
PURPOSE OF REASSERTING US LEADERSHIP IN ATLANTIC  
COMMUNITY. OTHERS BELIEVE ITS OBJECTIVE  
WAS TO SLOW DOWN PROCESS OF EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION  
AND TO PREVENT FRENCH AND EC FROM ESTABLISHING  
PRIVILEGED RELATIONSHIP WITH ARABS WHICH COULD  
COMPLICATE US DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NEARLY  
ALL FRENCH OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, AGREE THAT PRIMARY  
RESULT OF WEC WAS TO FORCE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO  
BREAK RANKS, TO " VIOLATE" THE COMMUNITY MANDATE FOR  
THE CONFERENCE AND, PARTICULARLY, TO FORCE THE OTHER  
EIGHT TO CHOOSE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

4. FAR FROM BEING DISCOURAGED BY WEC OUTCOME, GOF  
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BELIEVES FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION REACTION REACTION AND MARCH 4  
EC DECISION JUSTIFY CORRECNESS OF FRENCH POSITION  
AND BEHAVIOR IN WASHINGTON. THE TREND IN POPULAR  
ATTITUDES IN FRANCE SINCE THE CONFERENCE HS BEEN  
A MIXTURE OF FRENCH PRIDE (DAVID AND GOLIATH SYNDROM)  
AND SOME ANTI-AMERICANISM. THIS SERVES GOF DOMESTIC  
INTERESTS IN ITS CURRENT ATTEMPT TO CLOSE PARTY RANKS  
AROUND THE THIRD MESSMER GOVERNMENT. EXTERNALLY,  
FRENCH ARE TAKING THE LINE THAT ONLY FRANCE WORE A  
"EUROPEAN IDENTITY" IN WASHINGTON. WITH RARE UNANIMITY IN GOVERNMENT,  
PRESS AND POLITICAL CIRCLES, FRENCH APPEAR PERSUADED THAT THEIR  
STIFF-LEGGED STANCE IN WASHINGTON WAS JUSTIFIED ON MERITS OF  
FRENCH INTEREST AND WILL OVER TIME ENHANCE THEIR LEADERSHIP

ASPIRATIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. THEY RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT CONFRONTATION IN WASHINGTON ALSO PLACED GREAT STRESS ON INTRA-COMMUNITY RELATIONS. THEY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE PRESSURE IS ON THE EC EIGHT TO MOVE TOWARD FRENCH POLICY ON EC-ARAB RELATIONS IN ATTEMPT TO BURNISH THEIR "EUROPEAN IDENTITY", TARNISHED IN WASHINGTON. RECENT EVENTS AND REPORTING FROM OTHER EC CAPITALS TEND TO CONFIRM VALIDITY THIS FRENCH VIEW.

5. THE FRENCH HAVE LOST NO TIME IN MOVING TO REPAIR THEIR COMMUNITY BRIDGES. THE MARCH 1 MEETING WITH SCHEEL WAS FORTUITOUS OPPORTUNITY TO REESTABLISH WORKING RELATIONS WITH BONN. AS SENIOR QUAI OFFICIAL TOLD US, PERIODIC FRANCO-GERMAN CONSULTATIONS BEAR OUT WISDOM OF DE GAULLE AND ADENAUER. WHEN RELATIONS WITH THE FRG BECOME EMBITTERED, THERE IS ALWAYS ANOTHER FRANCO-GERMAN CONSULTATION SCHEDULED WHICH FORCES BOTH COUNTRIES TO PUT THEIR DIFFERENCES ASIDE AND PROCEED WITH THE BUSINESS OF EUROPE. IN CURRENT SITUATION, THIS WORKS TO ADVANTAGE OF FRENCH.

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. TWOHIE.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W  
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O 061806Z MAR 74  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7330  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
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EXDIS

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6. MARCH 4 MEETING OF EC FOREIGN MINISTERS:

THE RESULTS OF THE MARCH 4 MEETING OF COMMUNITY FOREIGN MINISTERS APPEARS TO BEAR OUT THE THESIS OF FRENCH DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ITS FOREIGN POLICY GOALS. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DECISION TO INITIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH ARAB GOVERNMENTS ON POSSIBLE EC-ARAB COOPERATION WAS TAKEN IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY POLITICAL COOPERATION. STALLED ON THE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION SIDE OF EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION, IT IS IN THE AREA OF POLITICAL COOPERATION THAT THE COMMUNITY APPEARS TO HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS. AT LEAST, THIS IS THE FRENCH PERCEPTION -- EVEN WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THEIR ACTIONS HAVE THEMSELVES DELAYED  
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ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COOPERATION. IT IS THE POLITICAL, FOREIGN POLICY SIDE OF COMMUNITY GROWTH THAT PRESIDENT POMPIDOU AND JOBERT HAVE SOUGHT TO PROMOTE SINCE EARLY FALL. AS JOBERT TOLD AN IMPORTANT FRENCH MAGAZINE LAST WEEK, THE NOVEMBER 6 EC DECLARATION ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONSTITUTED A SORT OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF EUROPE FROM THE UNITED STATES. THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE EUROPEAN IDENTITY, AND THAT THIS WILL REQUIRE SPLITTING WITH THE UNITED STATES OCCASIONALLY ON IMPORTANT ISSUES. SINCE THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE NO LONGER POISED IN A COLD WAR ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP, WITHIN WHICH IT WAS EASIER FOR FRANCE (AND, BY EXTENSION, THE COMMUNITY) TO MANEUVER, FRENCH BELIEVE THE COMMUNITY MUST SELECT A DIFFERENT WAY OF MAKING WESTERN EUROPE'S COLLECTIVE STRENGTH FELT -- AS A STEP TOWARD RECOGNITION AS A MAJOR WORLD POWER CENTER.

7. IN ADDITION, AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, FRENCH ARE ANXIOUS TO RE-INSERT THEMSELVES INTO THEIR "THEIR MARE NOSTRUM", AND THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE THEY (AS WELL AS THEIR BRITISH AND ITALIAN EC PARTNERS) HAVE DEEP HISTORICAL TIES. REALIZING THAT THEY ARE NO MATCH ALONE AGAINST THE US IN COMPETITION FOR INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO AUGMENT THEIR POWER BY CLOTHING IT IN COMMUNITY GARMENTS. BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN IMPORTANT, PRIVILEGED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE ARAB WORLD, THE FRENCH BELIEVE THE COMMUNITY WOULD TAKE A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARDS MAKING THE AGGREGATE STRENGTH OF THE NINE COMMUNITY COUNTRIES WEIGH MORE HEAVILY IN MAJOR DECISION-MAKING IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THIS, IN TURN, WOULD ENHANCE THE

EUROPEANS' APPRECIATION OF THEIR OWN POSSIBILITIES, THEREBY CONTRIBUTING TO THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION. AT THE SAME TIME, OF COURSE, AS FRANCE PURSUES ITS OWN NATIONALISTIC OBJECTIVES OF MAXIMIZING FRENCH INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD, VIA THE EC, IT POLISHES ITS OWN IMAGE (WITHIN THE SECRET

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EC, AND TO THE ARAB STATES AS THE LEADER OF THE COMMUNITY.

8. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT GOF HAS MADE A REALISTICALLY BLEAK ASSESSMENT OF RECENT FRENCH EFFORTS TO DEVELOP BILATERAL DEALS WITH ARAB COUNTRIES. WE HEAVE THAT JOBERT HAS BEEN DISMAYED AT THE SECRETARY'S ABILITY TO CREATE IN A REMARKABLY SHORT PERIOD AN ARAB STAKE IN AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP AND INFLUENCE. THE FRENCH BELIEVE THIS HAS STUNTED JOBERT'S ABILITY TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS WITH ARAB GOVERNMENTS. THEY MAY NOW BELIEVE THAT IT MAY BE MORE FRUITFUL FOR FRANCE TO GALVANIZE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INTO A BROAD COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT WITH THE ARAB WORLD. AS A SENIOR QUAI OFICIAL TOLD US LAST WEEK, THE PROPOSED EC-ARAB COOPERATION IS NOT CENTERED ON A "SEARCH FOR OIL." RATHER, IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO BUILD THE BROADEST POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP -- CULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, POLITICAL, MONETARY AND ENERGY -- BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

9. CONCLUSION: OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT FRANCE WILL PERSEVERE IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO PROD THE COMMUNITY IN THE DIRECTION OF CONCERTED DIPLOMACY, AND A SPECIAL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARABS, PLAYING ON THE SIGNIFICANT "GUILT FEELINGS" OF ITS EC PARTNERS AND ON THEIR CONCERN TO REACH SOME ACCOMMODATION WITH FRANCE. GOF WILL SIMULTANEOUSLY ATTEMPT TO REASSURE ITS EC PARTNERS THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES ARE NOT INTENDED TO CONFLICT WITH US POLICY OBJECTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FRENCH ARE LIKELY TO COOPERATE TO SOME DEGREE WITHIN OECD AND OTHER EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, WHILE NOT SEEKING TO HINDER WIDER CONSULTATIONS BY THEIR EC PARTNERS THROUGH ENERGY COORDINATING GROUP. (ALTHOUGH GOF CONSIDERS THAT ECG WORK UNLIKELY TO BE SUCCESSFUL, IT WOULD EXPECT TO PROFIT EQUALLY FROM ANY POSITIVE RESULTS.) AT SAME TIME, GOF WILL SEEK TO IMPROVE ITS IMAGE WITH OIL PRODUCERS AND THIRD WORLD THROUGH CONSPICUOUS BOYCOTT OF ECG AND VOCAL CHAMPIONSHIP SECRET

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OF LDCS IN UNGA SPECIAL SESSION.

10. RECOMMENDATION: WE RECOMMEND THAT USG PURSUE ITS OBJECTIVES, AS CHARTERED AT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, SEEKING ACTIVE EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION, BOTH IN PROCEDURES AND SUBSTANCE, AT ALL FEASIBLE LEVELS (TECHNICAL AND/OR POLITICAL), AND WITH ALL EC MEMBERS WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE MEANINGFULLY TO THIS JOINT ENTERPRISE. (THE LINE INDICATED IN REFTEL A STRIKES US AS JUST RIGHT.) BY ADOPTING LOW-KEY, BUSINESS-LIKE APPROACH TO ECG, WE DISARM THE FRENCH AND ENCOURAGE THE OTHER EIGHT TO INSURE THAT US AND EC APPROACHES MORE ON CONVERGING LINES. AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE THAT A DIVIDED AND WEAKENED EC IS NOT IN OUR LONG-RANGE INTERESTS, AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY IT WOULD BE TO OUR ADVANTAGE TO FIND SOME WAY OF ASSOCIATING THE GOF WITH THE ENERGY ACTION PROGRAM IF THIS CAN BE DONE WITHOUT CRIPPLING THE PROGRAM. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS AN OUTCOME WHICH FRANCE'S EC PARTNERS WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE. CONSEQUENTLY, WE RECOMMEND THAT SUITABLE OPPORTUNITIES BE USED WITH THE F

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 27 JUL 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, ENERGY, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974PARIS05668  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** P740141-1676  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740382/abbrzbgb.tel  
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**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS NOFORN  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS NOFORN  
**Reference:** A) STATE 43739 (NOTAL); B) PARIS 5557  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 JUL 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19-Jul-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <04 JUN 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** EC-ARAB RELATIONS AND ENERGY COORDINATING COMMITTEE: ASSESSMENT OF FRENCH OBJECTIVES  
**TAGS:** ENRG, FR, GE, XF, US, EEC  
**To:** STATE INFO BRUSSELS  
LONDON  
ROME  
COPENHAGEN  
DUBLIN  
BONN  
THE HAGUE

LUXEMBOURG  
TOKYO  
OSLO  
OTTAWA  
OECD PARIS  
**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005